

CHRISTIANITY and *CRISIS*

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Labor and Defense

THE occurrence of serious labor strikes in key industries at this critical time calls for vigorous thinking by cool heads. To one who has followed the history of industrial conflict in this country several factors present themselves as essential to an adequate appraisal of what is happening.

1. These strikes are first of all an aspect of the total industrial situation. Labor always expects and demands a share in increasing prosperity. An improved market is always the signal for an organized effort on the part of labor to improve its status. In the present situation an increase in the number and seriousness of strikes was to be expected.

2. Labor has a vivid memory of what happened after the last war, when industry launched a frontal attack on the labor movement—the famous open-shop campaign in the early 'twenties. Naturally the unions want to put themselves in a position to withstand a possible repetition of that attack after the present crisis has passed.

3. This fear is intensified by the fact that certain great industrial concerns have been persistently defying the spirit and letter of the Wagner Act, hoping for court decisions that would enable them to escape the necessity of dealing with trade unions. It is hardly too much to say that some of them are capitalizing the defense crisis in their determined fight against the unions. It is also safe to say that had there been no knock-down fight against collective bargaining—now clearly written into our labor law—the crisis in industry would not have reached its present proportions.

4. Current proposals for prohibiting strikes reflect the public's irritation rather than its sober judgment. When the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee suggests execution for men who cause work stoppages we are forcibly reminded that high office is no guarantee of either wisdom or humaneness. We are not at war, and if we were, the adoption of terroristic methods would invalidate a struggle avowedly waged for democratic ends.

5. At the same time, nothing is clearer than that the present labor situation is unhealthy and at this

critical moment the continued menace of stoppages in production of essential goods and services is intolerable. What is lacking is a clear concept, publicly held and sanctioned, of equity in the field of labor relations. What is involved in the "right to strike"? Those words in themselves define nothing. If they are taken to mean the right to quit work, the principle is sound except where the social necessity is comparable to that which dictates compulsory military service. But quitting a job, as an individual, is not striking. Nor is collective quitting the job a strike in any significant sense. Such a stoppage, without pressure of some sort—at the best, peaceful picketing, at the worst, intimidation and physical violence—aimed at making the stoppage effective, would scarcely create a public issue.

The question involved is how far and under what circumstances men may jointly act to *prevent work being done*. That some such right inheres in democratic citizenship has been widely recognized. This is why the use of injunctions in labor disputes has been restrained by federal law. It is equally clear, however, that there are limits, somewhere, to this "right." Somewhere, but where? This is a prime question of public policy.

6. Yet from an ethical point of view the most basic difficulty here is not the absence of an objective "code" but the lack of a spirit of equity in industry itself, and in the public as consumer of goods and services. No law can remedy a fault in the human will. To suppose that restrictive legislation is all that is necessary is to put one big coercion in the place of two lesser ones. True enough, this will inevitably happen, if defiance of the public will by either party is persistent. But it will be a sorry alternative, and unless it is related to measures aimed at the encouragement of effective and responsible functioning by labor organizations, it will be abortive. The President has been right in giving every opportunity for the play of equity before invoking the rigid constraints of law. It is in the process of defining rights and duties through voluntary effort under public sanction that such problems are solved. "The

life of the law," said Mr. Justice Holmes, "has not been logic; it has been experience."

7. Finally, and climactically, if any such ethical autonomy is to be made operative within industry, employers must realize that they are not in position to insist on limits to the right to strike until they have accepted the national policy prescribing limits to the right to employ. It is now established policy in the United States that there is no general right to employ labor under conditions which exclude joint government by managers and workers through collective bargaining. This principle has been written in blood, and labor will not lightly surrender it. To ask labor to do so would be to vitiate the very concept of democracy for which we claim to be mobilizing. The employer who is still fighting the battle against the new status of labor cannot come into the public's court of equity with "clean hands." Not only so, but there is abundant evidence that where employers concede this fundamental principle the main condition of peace in industry has been established.

Let Us Reason More Carefully

A New York City minister took occasion on Palm Sunday to preach on the labor situation in the United States, and in the course of his remarks said: "If the United States Government has enough power to control young men in the army who receive twenty-one dollars a month, and to say that they cannot strike, it has enough power to tell labor leaders that if their grievances are real, they will be mediated before impartial boards, but that they cannot strike against the United States."

This argument contains very loose and very dangerous reasoning. The analogy which must be drawn is not between workers and the army recruits, but between workers and the owners of industry. The wages of labor must be related in terms of justice to the profits of the latter, and not to the twenty-one dollars per month of the army recruits. Furthermore, it is hardly logical to equate a strike in the defense industry with a strike "against the United States" as long as the industry is privately owned. Such arguments assume that the owners are in perfect conformity with the democratic purposes of the nation and that only the workers disturb the social peace. There may be unjustified strikes and there may be strikes against genuine grievances. The assumption that labor alone bears the onus of the present situation is an unjust one and the pulpit ought not to follow the press in accepting it.

Reflections on the World Situation

How suddenly the fortunes of war shift from light to darkness! Only a few weeks ago the anti-Nazi

world was thrilled by the news of the Yugoslav coup d'état which sealed the heroic resolve of this Balkan nation to brave the fury of the dictator and to stake its national existence on resistance rather than compliance. Hitler had not wanted this war and seemed to have stumbled into it. The British had destroyed the Italian African empire and Hitler was involved in the undesired war on a double front. Yet in a few brief days the efficiency and fury of the German advance recalled the devastation of Poland and the advance through the Low countries which brought us to the depth of despair a year ago. It is too early to make any judgments about the ultimate outcome of the Balkan struggle, but obviously the hour is dark.

All sorts of reflections crowd into the mind as one contemplates the scale of the disaster which threatens. Some of the reflections are irrelevant to the urgent question of what we ought to do. One speculates on the difference between German efficiency and Italian inefficiency. One New York City paper presented John Whitaker's account of Italian demoralization synchronously with the news of Germany's advance in Greece and Yugoslavia. He revealed to what degree Fascist politics had corrupted the traditional virtues and excellencies of the Italian military services. Why does not the same thing happen in Germany? By what curious compound of virtue and vice in the German character can a demonic political leadership avail itself of the technical skills and loyalties of general and engineer so that subordinate realms of order are placed in the service of the more dominant chaotic purpose?

The idea of Providence would be so much simpler if evil destroyed itself as nicely as it does in the Italian case. Yet our understanding of history must include the complexity of the German situation.

One is bound to reflect also upon the meaning of life as it reveals itself in the tragedy of Yugoslavia. Is it good politics to risk death and destruction in order to avoid enslavement, when the chances of success are so slight? If resistance to tyranny runs the risk of enslavement after destruction, might it not be better to accept enslavement without death and destruction? The obvious answer is that the second choice might be better politics but not better morals. The meaning of human decisions is never exhausted in a careful calculation of possible historical consequences. There are moments in life and history when men are able to say: "Here I stand, I can do no other," and when even the most dire possible consequences seem irrelevant against the necessity of asserting the integrity of the soul against malignant power. Sometimes this contempt for historical consequences is the most potent cause for historical

success, for "if hopes are dupes, fears may be liars." One might wish that success always crowned such courage. But here again God's sovereignty over history is not so simply expressed and the Eternal which shines into history in such moments may have to become a final asylum to which we flee from history's frustrations and disappointments, rather than a final power over history's evils.

Yet all such meditations may be irrelevant luxuries in face of the most urgent necessity for action. The critical world situation once more requires that the American people re-examine their own purposes. We had just relaxed into the comfortable assurance that an allied victory might now be possible within terms of the help defined in the lend-lease bill. Now we must face the problem of convoys, for it is a question whether the shipping problem can be solved without more aid than we are now giving. We might solve that issue with the least possible acrimony if we keep firmly in mind that the issue is still, what it has been from the beginning, namely whether we can in terms of both morals and politics allow a Nazi victory. If we cannot, we must prepare for more sacrifices and more risks.

A Charitable Opponent

As an example of a very high type of Christian generosity toward opponents on political issues, of which we should like to prove worthy, and which we commend to both those who agree and those who disagree with us for emulation, we present herewith a portion of an article which appeared recently in *The Friend*, organ of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Quakers. The article, dealing with our editorial venture was written by Elton Trueblood, Chaplain of Stanford University, prominent Quaker, and author of a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on the pacifist issue, which has found favor with both pacifists and non-pacifists.

Mr. Trueblood writes: "One of the most outstanding of literary events of the past quarter is the appearance of a new magazine, a bi-weekly journal of Christian opinion called *Christianity and Crisis*. Many of the members of the editorial board and sponsor board are well-known to readers of *The Friend* by virtue of their strong Christian leadership in recent years and their well-known writings. Among those whom our readers may be expected to know best are John C. Bennett, William Adams Brown, Henry Sloane Coffin, Douglas Horton, John R. Mott, Robert E. Spear, Edward L. Parsons, and Reinhold Niebuhr. The reputation of these men is so great that anything they do is bound to attract serious attention. The purpose of the new journal is to deal with the crisis in civilization, and to deal with it in a way which these leaders feel has not been adequately represented heretofore. They are bound

together by common rejection of Isolationism and at the same time of political Pacifism. Many of the sponsors have, however, expressed sympathy with the kind of Pacifism for which Friends have chiefly stood.

"It is interesting to notice that the sponsors of the new journal have been among the most vigorous leaders of the Ecumenical movement in America. Closely associated with both the Oxford and Edinburgh conferences of a few years ago, they are convinced that the same kind of world fellowship which they have expressed in the Ecumenical movement demands a strong Christian lead against dictatorship in the political realm.

"The position which the new journal takes is different from that of the Society of Friends, but that is all the more reason why it is important for Friends to understand what its position is. Its sponsors have earned our respect in so many ways that we cannot be unmindful of their thinking now.

"Another significant contribution to the literature of crisis is coming to the western world through what is known as *The Christian News Letter*. This is edited by J. H. Oldham and has been coming out of England for more than a year. This news letter is undertaken with the hope of giving what is called a 'Christian lead' which will try to show men a way to keep their minds clear and their hearts devoted to the spirit of the Christian faith even in the midst of deadly peril. In trying to tell what this lead is, a recent supplement said 'if Christianity is true the lead has already been given.' It is not something to be anxiously sought, but something to be accepted and rejoiced in. It is maintained that Christianity is a faith before it is an ethical demand. It is a faith about the ultimate meaning of life and it is faith rather than ideals that move the world. The Christian faith, it is maintained, does not offer men the blueprints of a new society, but it does something far more important; it gives the inspiration for such a society and a clue to living. The primary business of the Church, we read, is to make Christians. 'Unless there are persons who have found something to live by that illuminates for them the meaning of life, that gives them solid support in their struggles, and works in them with dynamic energy, there is no living force to change society.'

"Here is a rich new literature, produced by men who have drunk deeply from the fountains of Christian truth, who are caught in the toils of our present situation, and who are trying desperately, not only to find their way, but to show their fellows the way that is in line with Jesus Christ. This is a bright light in the midst of the darkness. It is a spirit which binds men together in spite of the differences of their political outlook concerning what should be done in the present crisis."

Defending Justice Despite Our Own Injustice

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH

MEN have a way of becoming morally modest when this modesty decreases the pressure of responsibility. They have a way of becoming morally arrogant when their privileges are at stake. They are ready to shout all the watchwords about the rights of men when these rights may be used to buttress their own claims. They are ready to talk vaguely about the difficulty of applying moral principles, the complexity of society, and the relativity of all human judgments, when the principles in question might be used to buttress the rights of others. They are ready to call in dreams of a perfect society for the dislocation of the relationships of an order where they have what they consider an inadequate share of the goods of life. They suddenly remember the universal and inevitable distribution of evil when they are asked to go forth in battle array for the sake of giving justice to others. They do not doubt their worthiness when they are about to make demands for themselves. They have sudden compunctions about their worthiness to do battle for the sake of giving justice to others.

For this reason it becomes necessary to inspect with complete candor the motives which lie behind moral scruples of all kinds which emerge at the moment when some sort of action is demanded. A survey of the whole field where this variety of casuistry appears is a matter of real importance when we live in the sort of world which conditions our present activities.

Admittedly perfect beings could apply perfect standards with complete and immediate effectiveness in a world where no imperfect beings had appeared. But we do not live in such a world. At some points every human being is soiled by the evil of life. At some points every human institution reflects evil qualities. In no end of ways society is corrupted by the cumulative evils which have been flourishing through the centuries of man's life on this planet. From unsuspected dark corners evil is always arising to turn to frustration the purposes which are good. So deeply true is this that the man who sets about standing for justice is always plagued by injustices of his own. The institution which lifts the flag of righteousness is always shamed by unrighteousness inherent in its own life. The nation which goes forth to fight in the name of some sort of moral order is always plagued by some of the pages of its own history. If we have to wait for completely immaculate men before we make any demand in the name of justice, we will have to wait forever. If we have to wait for per-

fect institutions to be the instruments of moral values, all hope of moral advance is completely lost. If we have to wait for nations with a perfect past before we make any attempt to secure civilized decency in the present, we might as well give up the whole endeavor once for all.

But this very putting of the question makes clear the way we must take. Since we cannot wait for stainless men to fight the evil in the world, we must use such men as we have. Weather-beaten men upon whom many a storm of evil has blown, bearing the marks of much failure in the storms of life, must go forth in spite of their own imperfection to fight against the lies which destroy the soul and the actions which degrade and disintegrate the good life of man. Institutions which have made their own compromises with evil must yet come to the place where they say "Thus far, and no farther" to evils both within and without their own corporate life. Nations which look back upon many a sorry tale in their own past must come upon days of stern resolution to resist the evil which presses upon them from without even as they must resist the evil which presses outward from within. Only so is some sort of justice and decency achieved in the individual life. Only so is some sort of honor and nobility given a place in the structure of corporate life. And only so do nations set themselves to move from the jungle toward the goals of truly civilized life.

When once we persuade ourselves to think of the matter honestly we see that such soundness and such justice as have become a part of human life have been achieved in just this fashion. The apostle Paul was very proud of his Roman citizenship. He understood perfectly the relative good—and a very high and commanding good it was—which the Pax Romana had given to the world. But he was able to write with stinging satire of the dark evils which belonged to that same structure of life. He was ready to perceive and appreciate and appropriate and cooperate with the good of the structure. He was also ready to draw the sharp arrows in his great bow for the piercing of the evils in that very structure. And both in his hearty appreciation and in his deadly criticism he was ready to recognize that he himself was a man with evil fibers in the very structure of his own life, safe to think and safe to act only through the great grace of God.

Feudalism achieved very great things, not only in the region of justice, but in respect of the graces which

appear only when golden thoughts command the minds of men. But the feudal societies had their own evils, their own dark disloyalties to the very standards by which they lived. When the tale of chivalry was put into lovely poetry we find that imperfect men with a shining dream made up the knighthood of King Arthur's Round Table. Here was the glory and the tragedy of chivalry both as history and as poetry. But if imperfect men had not dreamed the dream, there would have been no beginnings of more gracious life. All would have been the black plight of ugly brutality.

From this standpoint we can understand the grim and hostile criticism and the glowing and tender appreciation of the same institutions by different students. One student sees the idea of justice and fine living which fires the best spirits. So he writes in glowing appreciation. Another student sees the betrayal of this ideal and watches the decaying processes which rot the ripening fruit. He writes with something like irritated scorn. Our own period has produced a vast quantity of fierce young scholars so occupied with the fashion in which human evil has betrayed man's passion for justice that they have become completely unable to see how genuine good is ever attained in a society in which dark evils flourish.

If we accept the leadership of these men whose eyes are simply eyes of gloom, we travel straight toward complete paralysis and final frustration. Unable to see the gallant fight of justice in evil hearts and in evil societies hope dies out of their eyes and finally perishes in their hearts. It is a curious situation when a man's passion for perfection produces the complete breakdown of his will in the presence of the evils which characterize the world in which he lives. He has become so color-blind that he cannot see the good which exists because of his preoccupation with the evils which betray that good. A man determines wrathfully that he will not tell himself lies in order to make himself comfortable in an evil world. And straightway he begins to tell himself lies by misreading the good in front of his own eyes. If it is both stupid and evil to call wrong right or black white, what shall we say of the man whose passion for a destructive interpretation of all existing human life and all historic human orders leads him to use every ingenuity to find evil motives for good deeds and dark purposes back of fair action?

The truth is that only the man who sees the good in the midst of evil and the evil coiling its dark way toward the heart of good is a safe guide. He knows how precarious is our fight for goodness in an evil world. He also knows how glorious are the achievements of good in spite of all the insistent and pervasive evil.

The peril of psychopathic judgments is one of the most sinister of the dangers confronted by men of our

time. In the period between the conclusion of the first World War and the outbreak of the present cataclysm, untold millions of young people were brought up to look for a worm in every apple in the tree of life, and to go shouting with strange glee at the discovery of each new worm. The leaders and teachers of youth were so much engrossed by their own psychopathic glooms that it did not occur to them that man cannot live by the discovery of worms alone. And so a generation was produced which ceased to believe in any sort of goodness in the fruit hanging on the tree of life. Even their poetry became a dark and slimy poetry of worms. They had become so passionately engrossed with the presence of evil in the world that they became unable to see the perpetual and dauntless battle of good with evil in every human heart and in every human institution. This power to see the actual good in a world where there is so much evil is a necessity if we are not all to come to a state of complete incapacity for action. The attack on the sources of belief in life is the most deadly of all attacks upon man's heritage. The one central insight a man must have if he is to be of any sort of worth in a world like ours is just the insight that, soiled though your life may be, you can yet give yourself to the fight against some intolerable evil and the battle for the securing of some good necessary for a decent life for men. And this insight is secured as we insistently tell the truth about the good which has been actually achieved in an evil world by men whose lives were stained by the evil of this grim world and yet had capacity for deathless loyalty to some clearly seen good and deathless hostility to some clearly understood evil.

There is no more fascinating or sardonic sport than the indoor analysis of the failure of democracy. If it merely consists of an honest criticism of a form of life which must perpetually be held up to standards from which it is perpetually tempted to fall away, this is very good indeed. But all too easily it becomes a cynical delight in the failure of democracy and at last an unhesitating condemnation of democracy itself. The democrat, because he is a creature whose loyalty to good fights its way through compromises with evil, carries his treasure in an earthen vessel. But it is a treasure. And it represents something which once and again has become very glorious on the highways of mankind. We must be honest about its failures. But in God's name we must be honest about its successes. We must tell the truth about its evil alliances. But at the peril of the very integrity of our own minds we must tell the tale of its refusal to make compromises and its spurning of alliances which were evil. It is possible for imperfect creatures to achieve a certain standard of decency and freedom in the world. And it is so not as a matter of faith, but of any honest interpretation of history.

The preoccupation with man's tendency to injustice leads to the confusion of the understanding at every point where a decision must be made. When there is a great war in the world, it enables you to claim that both sides are equally evil and so you are saved from moral judgment and from moral responsibility. Sometimes in the process you are reduced to a state of intellectual dishonesty which is enough to make angels weep. It seems beyond belief that any sincere man could follow the tale of Hitler's activities in Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France, every step a movement in treachery and faithlessness to the plighted word, every step accompanied by remorseless barbarity and cruelty, every step a new slaughter of freedom in the name of conscienceless power—it seems impossible that any sincere man could follow this tale of complete and unabashed evil and then turn to the British Empire, with its tale of democracy increasing century by century until it holds a supreme hope for the good life for men, without feeling a contrast so complete that the very facts themselves carry the necessity for the decision that in this war the cause of Britain is the very cause of mankind. To any one capable of straight thinking in the light of the facts, the situation is clear enough. Something utterly disintegrating and uncivilized has been let loose in the world. It has won dangerous victories. Britain stands between the rest of the world and incalculable tragedy.

But the thinker, with a passion for perfection, sometimes especially alive when that passion can be used to show a way to escape responsibility, now begins to speak. He reminds us of every evil thing he can find in the history of England since the Norman Conquest. He makes a very brave attempt to blacken England in order to be able to say that since both contestants are equally evil, we can just stand aside and watch. He uses every strategy for the misinterpretation of England. He overestimates the evil. He ignores the good. And even so, after his best efforts, Britain remains a dull grey against the bitter black of Hitler's Germany. The history of parliamentary democracy is ignored. The broadening liberties of the British Empire are forgotten. The word *imperial* is used in such a fashion as to black out intelligence and to set every fact in a false perspective.

Nobody—least of all the British—would deny the dark spots in British history. But they do not represent the defining matters in the British tradition. The British Navy has been the protector of the liberties of the world. It has not been a menace to the freedom of man. The three thousand miles of unfortified boundary between the United States and Canada is itself a symbol. The British Commonwealth of Nations has been made up of very human beings; sometimes evil leaders have lifted false flags, and sometimes popular demand has involved moral

compromise. But on the whole, what a splendid achievement in freedom and law is represented by the British flag! Men with all their injustice can achieve extraordinary results in maintaining justice. The British Empire is proof of it.

But that is not the whole story. The dark evils will go to incredible lengths if they are not resisted by men who care for some sort of freedom and decency, imperfect though these men may be. The two outstanding characteristics necessary for the meeting of such a crisis as the one in which the world finds itself are, first, a sense of the significant facts, and second, unhesitating courage in dealing with the facts. Dr. Van Loon has used the phrase "fact blindness" to describe the quality which has led to the fall of many nations. The perpetual tendency of corpulent and intellectually dull men and nations is to treat wolves as if they were pleasant domestic animals. And when it is too late, the dull men and the dull nations awake to the nature of what they have done. There is no excuse for mental bewilderment in the United States since the fall of France. The evil which has been set loose upon the world must be crushed. And we cannot wait for perfect men or perfect nations to crush it.

If intellectual acuteness is necessary, the courage to act is also necessary. And in every age many men have been ready to make themselves a human wall against a threat to any sort of just life for man, even though they knew that they were themselves men whose lives needed much moral surgery. Indeed, the moment when an imperfect man gives himself to a necessary fight for the maintaining of a decent life for the world, he takes another step toward the triumph of justice in his own life. And the nation which like Britain becomes the fortress of the human cause achieves in that hour a justice and a nobility greater than any it has known before.

The first step toward moral achievement for the individual and for the nation is the hour of commitment to something more perfect than the individual or the nation has yet achieved. Jesus put the heart of the matter into an immortal epigram when he spoke of those who were evil and yet could give and would give good gifts. We, though evil, may give the good gift of a great loyalty to the cause of man. We can achieve some sort of justice in spite of the injustice in our hearts and in our national life.

Reprints of "Food for Europe?"

In response to many requests, the article in our last issue on "Food for Europe?" by Henry P. Van Dusen is available in reprint form, and may be secured from the author at 3041 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Price: single copies, 3c; fifty copies, \$1; a hundred copies, \$2, postpaid.

The World Church: News and Notes

German Archbishop Speaks Out

The *Osservatore Romano*, Vatican newspaper, has published the pastoral letter of the Archbishop of Freiburg which the Nazis suppressed. The Archbishop wrote: "The assertion that Christianity is an enemy of the German people has not remained a theoretic affirmation because the modern German applies totalitarianism bluntly.... Resignation without defense is proper only when it is a question of wrong done to one's own person, not when the honor of God, the soul, and the Christian future of the people are at stake. Mere resignation before fundamental problems would be in contradiction with conscience and the example of Christ.... Already it is almost certain that the future of our people, to whom we are bound with every fibre of our hearts, is being built only on an anti-Christian foundation."

German Catholic Theologian Speaks

In view of the stubborn resistance of Catholic people to Nazism in Germany, a recent article by Dr. Karl Adam, a Catholic theologian who is best known in this country, in which he comes to terms with Nazi doctrine, is rather surprising. Dr. Adam writes:

"We are not merely Christians and Catholics, but we are German Christians and German Catholics. This 'German' is not something which came to be added to our Christianity as something external to it, for then our Christianity would be the underlying, the permanent, and the formative thing. But it is exactly the other way around. The permanent and abiding element is our *natura germanica* and our Christianity comes as something fortuitous, as a special gift of God added to the original German nature. The supernatural is the living dynamic thing, a movement of God's love which pervades our natural state and resources in their special German form and in this form makes them God-like and pleasing to God."

Thus Dr. Adam makes the worst possible use of the Catholic doctrine of grace as a completion of nature, without being a judgment upon the natural.

Chiang Kai-shek's Devotions

A Canadian missionary reports that he was invited to dine with the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. After the dinner the guests were invited to remain for evening prayer. The missionary describes the devotions as follows: "I never expect to hear such a prayer again in all my life. The General began with a simple personal expression of gratitude for their personal safety. Then he added thanks for the courage of the nation under fire. Then he prayed for strength for the men in the field and along the firing lines. Then he prayed for strength for himself. But the most amazing thing in his prayer was a plea that God would help him and help China not to hate the Japanese people. He prayed for the Japanese Christians and all the suffering multitudes of Japan whose impoverishment made the war on China possible."

Korean Missionaries Arrested

Fifteen American and British missionaries in Korea were arrested on March 25th by the Japanese authorities and charged with engaging in an anti-war campaign throughout the Korean peninsula. The Domei agency, official Japanese press service, charged that the missionaries, all of whom were women, had distributed thousands of handbills with the text of a model prayer "of extremely improper and anti-nationalist character." It has been established that the literature to which the Japanese government has taken exception consisted of pamphlets with suggestions for prayers to be used for the World Day of Prayer.

Churches in Russian Poland

After an initial period of comparative tolerance, Russia has gradually brought the full force of its anti-religious campaign to bear upon the part of Poland which fell to Russia. An agreement between the OGPU and the Gestapo resulted in the forced return of all priests in German occupied Poland who had been born in Russian occupied Poland. Upon return they were sent to Siberia. The *Lwowskaya Prawda*, sovietized newspaper of Lemberg, reports that three hundred churches and sixty-two synagogues have been closed or converted to other uses. A thousand religious schools have been closed.

The Competing Faiths of India

Dr. J. Z. Hodge, secretary of the National Christian Council of India, called attention in a recent survey of the Indian religious situation, to the increased fervor and missionary zeal in all the faiths of India. There is a revival of both intellectual Hinduism and of popular Hinduism, the latter insisting on the sanctity of caste. But Islam and Sikhism have also revealed new missionary zeal and Buddhism is becoming more missionary minded in Burma and Ceylon. He declares that the insistence of intellectual Hinduism that "all religions are at heart one is to some extent responsible for the widespread opposition to proselytism. If one surrendered to this opposition, the nerve of active evangelism would be cut."

Clerical Opinion on the Lease-Lend Bill

A poll of its clerical readers by the *Pulpit Digest* on the lease-lend bill revealed the following division of opinion among the ministers of America: for the bill 54% and opposed 46%.

The majority in the following denominations supported the bill: Episcopal 77%; Presbyterian 57%; Baptist 54%. The majority in the following denominations were opposed to the bill: Disciples 52%; United Brethren 51%; Methodist 55%; Congregational 61%; Church of the Brethren 70%; Evangelical and Reformed 71%; Lutheran 72%.

Among both opponents and proponents 62% expressed the opinion that the passage of the bill might be a step in the direction of involving the nation in war.

CHRISTIANITY AND CRISIS

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Communications

Sirs:

I have read the first two issues of your new magazine with interest. The articles are very good, but as yet you have not discussed the real issues which it seems to me face American Christians.

Those questions have to do with the shape of things to come, the kind of a world in which Christians around the world can unite. The Malvern conference is a start in the right direction. Cannot your publication give more attention to unifying the Christian forces around the world, of every nation, in a demand for a world order based on justice, good will, and the recognition of brotherhood? That kind of a publication is needed badly. Your organization has the leadership to do it. Let us not be so preoccupied with the immediate struggle as not to have any suggestions ready for the world when the crash comes.

Forest D. Brown

Sirs:

I was very much interested in and impressed by your article on "America and the Peace After the War" in the March issue of *Christianity and Crisis*.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Sirs:

Just because I was one of those who expressed partial dissent from the principles announced by *Christianity and Crisis* when I sent in my subscription, I am happy to express my warm appreciation of the tone of the publication, and especially for John C. Bennett's thoughtful, thought-provoking, and I believe I may say very fair discussion of certain problems in Christian social ethics, which many of us who are pacifists frankly recognize as confronting us as a result of our convictions, not least the problem numbered four, of which some of us at least—contrary to his belief—are most acutely aware.

Besides this very few of the pacifists I know are willing to be a part of a merely nationalistic "isolationism" such as you describe in the leading article of the

current issue. On the contrary, so thoroughly do we repudiate this selfish attitude as unchristian, that we would gladly do whatever we can as citizens to lead our country to go much further than it has ever shown the slightest inclination to go in the direction of constructive, non-violent forms of international cooperation. What we abhor is the fact that "isolation" has actually been the dominant policy of our country through most of its history, and that its first adventure out of that policy after the first World War was followed by such a thoroughly selfish and lamentable withdrawal at its close. If this policy only reverses itself in times of conflict, one is tempted to draw the conclusion that for vast numbers of our people and even for their leaders, fighting appears less painful than constructive thinking and planning when the complex problems, made more acute by the chaos and frayed tempers of war, remain to be solved. You will do us a great injustice if you represent us as unwilling to make our personal sacrifices for any really new and Christian social, economic and international order, which shows the least possibility of being entered into with courage by the nations.

For this reason, I shall continue to look forward to your publication for more hard-thinking leadership and guidance as to what Christians can do *now* (not after some hypothetical victory), to make the return of another such crisis at the end of twenty-five years impossible.

Oscar J. F. Seitz

Sirs:

The article by Lewis Mumford in your March 24th issue is outstanding. It contains more good sense than anything I have read up to date on the subject and shows excellent power of analysis. . . . This article should have the widest possible circulation. . . .

WILLIAM R. YENDALL

Upon request hundreds of copies of the article by Lewis Mumford are being sent out.

THE EDITORS

Subscriptions

Though our introductory offer for the journal has terminated and the price of the journal is now \$1.50 per year in the United States and \$1.75 for Canadian and foreign subscriptions, we are glad to report that we are still receiving a hundred or more subscriptions every week, due to unsolicited help from friends and readers all over the country. We remind our readers that we have a special price for bundle orders and for magazines ordered on consignment by churches and organizations. Write us for terms.

By special arrangement *Christianity and Crisis* is prepared to accept American subscriptions for transmission to Britain of *The Christian News Letter*, a weekly journal edited by Dr. J. H. Oldham, which presents the views of one of the most significant groups of Christian leaders in Britain. The American subscription rate is \$1.50 for six months and \$3.00 per year. Make checks payable to *Christianity and Crisis*.